[illegible] Boas 8-5 (1921-1924)1948
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(j) *Awatqwa aut*, "Leloreod": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Taiatsmis* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Awatqwa aut* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

(k) Alend o: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe oah*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Taiatsmis* named *Alend o*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

(l) Skekuk, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Skek*.

(m) Qemqo o, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the earliest past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 3).

(n) *Qaxelpaqwa*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Alend o*. This village was long ago deserted.

(o) *Tsaskwemskqa o*, "Where There Is Much *tsaskwemskq*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

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[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In each case there is an visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles, supported sometimes on shoulder-figures, which they brought with them from the north. Informants and others on the coast north of totem-poles on the North West Coast believe that the Bella Coola brought not are historically accurate.

[illegible] B-5 (1922-1924) [illegible]
[illegible]

[361] the north bank of the Bella Coola,[1] near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous superstories (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) Xaxal, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1906. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as Nuxalk is. The name is derived from Sun, saxa, and there are two explanations given for it. One informant states that the name came from the many recollections of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Sulthaq*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Xaxal*, "Fallen Sun."

[76] [77]

*(12) *Xpemult*: on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tcemult*, "Where the River is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there at the beginning of time was given as *Tcemhilut*.

[64] [77]

(14) *Ino'esipmdz*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Ts'aymdz*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned, but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

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[1] The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites were at a considerable distance from it may even have been on its banks.

Bajo have been heard so recently as 1914, according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a hooting or cry-snake. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the bajo away.

An animal somewhat similar to the bajo is the dsilbeit. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, there lived on human beings near Port John on Dean Inlet, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the dsilbeit. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. There, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola are what may have been the last surviving dsilbeit. Two hairy creatures were observed hiding from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have granted supernatural assistance to anyone.

Another supernatural creature is the kâkuk'. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move as rapidly as to catch birds and animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a considerable length. Various incidents are related concerning kâkuk'. One of its characteristics is that it causes gales. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles, everything movable is blown away, leaving only rock

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and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learned, *kâmsk'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *kaukas*. It is an enormous bird with hairy wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its voice, an oft repeated "*Hax, hax, hax,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used at *kaxtsa'* dances. The *kaukas* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

A popular story runs that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped on the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *kaukas* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The unfortunate shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot a arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead, and the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

No *kaukas* has been seen within recent years, but one informant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

1:M:Boreith E-5 [1911-1914]1948
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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *cwaq*. Any supernatural creature, a *kâkoê* for example, is spoken of as a *cwaq* in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one Bella Coola may describe as a *cwaq* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learned, there is no designation other than *cwaq* for creatures which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, batrachian, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these creatures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of *cwaq* is beneath the glacier on Mount Qâmaxʷ, behind the small mountain which rises behind Ẍwaqa·ic, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *cwaq* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *cwaq* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of

a woman now in middle age is said to have guided a white man to the spot. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the instrument to a Kwaquit Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

The creature to which the term *cowy* is most often applied is one that lives in lakes; it has a huge mouth and can suck with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is termed a *sâmsâk*. One is said to have lived not long ago at Winter Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Owen Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *sâmsâk*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two youths, a chief's son and a poor man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Owen Lake. The chief's son who was really first, swam out, wearing a fancy belt, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter was on the point of diving in he heard a dreadful sucking noise, combined with an enormous crackling. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "but it is nothing," and the youth continued his swim.

As the swim grew harder the boy on the bank cried out: "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

His friend in the water again answered: "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The noise increased; circles and swells were carried from the bank and flew out towards the centre of the lake. The current eventually grew so great that the youth on land was forced to clutch a tree-trunk with his arms, while his legs fluttered out towards the lake like pennants in a strong wind. The strain on his arms was so terrific that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the current subsided. When he looked at the lake the swimmer had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. He was believed his story; instead, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story; then they resolved to

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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hoisted her into his craft, and fled. The orcinoys salmon were cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the orcinoys salmon nearly caught Tahnáh in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoes beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The places made in the water by his thrusts are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the orcinoys salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few orcinoys come to this river.

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went down to Tahnáh at the head of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the house of Ilaxpa, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of dried fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had carried from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palm of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and Ilaxpa said,

"Oh! men, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all small-head salmon, which are still called *Sumsemkhlimat di Hlaan*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon.

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

Many of these fish then inhabited the ocean, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who steered Tahnáh with its aid. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the eastern ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the house

[illegible]

of a woman, Ałukmaxa·a, who dealt with her mother, a Gull. After a week, Raven bid to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he would make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. Ałukmaxa·a declared the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful as he knew, some of the scales would certainly be in the craft. The herring youth bathed inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, Ałukmaxa·a willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spell into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a fauna-like whip prepared by heating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, Ałukmaxa·a, a mountain in the Carrier country above Dean Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep them for God for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the creator of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Raven gave whenever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. Ałukmaxa·a was very angry, but could do nothing.

Though Raven created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always making ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the calmness of

b.66 Swanton B.-1 (1922-1924)1968
NEA Bellevale NEA

a friend. Raven determined to supply this want to the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid collected here clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Anilkwatis*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nanqulit-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre clothes worn, as are which he taught spinning as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an elachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its construction, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings consequent, as Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of animals remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are subsisting the same way. This is always mentioned as proof of freshwater presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this story. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

1: McDermith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[1] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk.

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 362), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe their totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included.

b:McDowall B-5 (1922-1924)2948
NBS Bellecoola NBS

as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in his own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also summoned to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamatsa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nawiit* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

Many efforts were made to secure the accuracy of this account, but errors must have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the *hesiut* society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the *Semqo'o* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are on the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing songs; they picked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot, in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

[illegible]

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *ezezi* could henceforth live in it, and no *Bacisi* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *ezezi* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *ezezi* call out loudly, in unison, *kuji kuji* times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-increasing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *ezezi* re-emerge, and one of them crawls behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*Si* ...." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay those men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *ezezi* chiefs. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *ezezi* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are commercial cedar-bark pads.

The *ezezi* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire standing a man unknown.

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH [illegible]

Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Mąxmaxtu*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the existence of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly celebrated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practise it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a source of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people interviewed [illegible] the number and size of their poles were never so great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth mentioning the same wealth, he is about to mention, or to make among, he believes that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Aîtsa* (I, p. [illegible]), he

[illegible] "Totem-Pole."

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkai* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Ewad*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

Library of Congress Boas E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Imaeus* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1] *Ahnaumaitz* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a competent sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

Lincoln Dorsett E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at the front door of the house with an opening at its base through which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral chiefs by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: resting on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make home for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made

1:Mc'Dermith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NE5

make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Āqunitsa*'s instruction, *Imanus* planned to make a circuit of the world seeking a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.[1]

Sometimes as he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. For in the north *Imanus* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to Kimsquit without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree over his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Omqwēkilde* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Imanus* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Omqwēkilde* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above he animated it, as an eagle. *Imanus* now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the thefts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nuxmit'a*. After about a year he suggested to *Omqwēkilde* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the gear which *Āqunitsa* had given *Imanus*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. No sooner had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Āqunitsa* the two brothers were now very prosperous, and *Imanus* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met Tsēlus, and married his sister *Setsēlus*, as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as *nāhmāmit*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spoons with designs of the *nāhnāq'ax*, since they had brought that creature with them from above. Now everything was ready and they announced their guests. When all had assembled, *Imanus* gave a *Ināyēkun* dance

[1] The clouds which float over Kimsquit before a west wind are still called "*Imanus*'s clouds," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Imanus* was responsible for these phenomena.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life, but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 825 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PLATE 21

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 142 (E)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, therefore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's life-
[778] time, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutsé*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

U.S.N.M. Ethnology E-1 (9511-9524) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

a lazy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that *Kuelput* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kuelput's* power and revelation her name did not spread widely.

Powers Localized in Certain Spots

To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phenomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Alquntám* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smá·ol*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

(1) *Smaiw·a*, also called *Skutkwaily*: At the head of the Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Skutkwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xhkmals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is assumed that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

[illegible] 8-1 [1921-1924]/[illegible]
NEA Bellacoola MSS

currents, and where there was always much wind, melting is feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable.

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Skuhkmaily*'s town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Skuhkmaily* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *end d.*

According to another account, *Skuhkmaily* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has frequently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the adventures of people passing near this spot:

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Skuhkmaily*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

Schlesinger B-1 (1932-1934) 1945
BBS Bellacoola MSS

intelligence of *Skuhkumaily* has become petrified there and remains any slights.

Four men were once passing the spot on their way to the interior when one of them, in bravado, pushed with his stick against the stones which once had been the houses of the village, saying as he did so:

"*Skuhkumaily*, petrify us if you can, we are not afraid of you."

When he drew up his stick it was covered with small snakes; more appeared from everywhere and swarmed over the four like ants. They started to run, but three of them were crushed beneath the swarming creatures and nothing was ever seen of them. The fourth man drew his knife and with it slit his clothing, thus dislodging most of the snakes, and, naked, he was able to run away. He succeeded in reaching some people to whom he told the fate of his companions, but soon his stomach began to swell and he died. Snakes had entered his body and his case had been hopeless from the start.

On another occasion four girls had just climbed a steep and difficult trail behind the *end of* to avoid passing through the place itself. On reaching the level land above, one of them called out:

"*Skuhkumaily*, I am glad to be safely past you."

But the jealous *Skuhkumaily* heard her. He sent a gale, the ground rocked, trees were torn and broken, and three of the girls were swept away to their death. One only escaped by wrapping herself around the *base of* a tree.

Another time four Carriers on their way to the coast passed a boulder on the shore of a pool which is at *Skuhkumaily*. Although aware of the power petrified there, they derided it by thrusting poles below the rock and asking it why it did not show its strength by taking revenge for the insults they offered it. When they pulled out the sticks they were covered with snakes, and more appeared from the trees and roots in the vicinity. The Carriers fled, pursued by them, and after running all day, managed to make their escape at dusk.

G.SS-Swanton, R.-2 (1902-1924)1948
NEA Bella Coola NEA

The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and the rocky coves were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour. 778 539

(2) *Pe-kth*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel. 778

Here is found a *snaxq*, one of the most powerful localized beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *snaxq* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crush down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving these far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Tăl-is*. They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised limb. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *snaxq* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast. 778 796

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural beings regard the *snaxq* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but Qomoqwe admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot- 778 539

Jesup North Pac. E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NES Bellacoola NES

998 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Noos *swaap*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and house were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *swaap* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Ẋhaẋdes*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Snawals*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nukilā-ata*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 103 (9) Mount *Nusḳalst*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nūnalstwist*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusḳalst*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Xḳlś* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nūnalstwist*

Library of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology
Harvard University

obtained two wives, the name of one being *Pitsin*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nūsalelkuīd knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a mass of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqulc*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his son, *Nusk-mūlaxem*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *squlc*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white men's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nūsalelkuīd* and *Pitsin*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Alkzmox*: An unidentified spot where a *snung* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *cxpulcm*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snuköl* and *Tāl-ĭo*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *sqoloam*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*..... If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alquntam*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*....., four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kaxiaut*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *sqoloam* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipishuks i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *spis*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaly*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ailsabaitk*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkis*, likewise petrified.

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In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers.[2] The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1] [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see ant. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

ceremonial chastity. This owes its pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not closely formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways.

Skeldumulk and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Skeldumulk's* chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *Ikhdy* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighborhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes.

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leaped in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the *roof* of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the *roof* of the house, and are cured by the immersion.

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu-

gized by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon it he saw within that on which his own mind was centred. As it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another a potlatch with himself in the rôle of donor, another his children, and a second individual saw a man and woman in the sexual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6 inches. The heaps are not regular, and yet form a distinct cairn. If a passer-by wishes to ascertain the length of his life, he takes a stick and shoves out one of the stones, which rolls far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long life is when the moss sways back and forth, emitting a squeaking sound like the leather in a new shoe, as he endeavours to poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the traveller's return from the interior the heap has always assumed its original shape, though no one has ever seen one of the stones being picked up by human agency.

Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

When a young man he had been initiated into the *kusiut* society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep his robe, saying that they would make it possible for him to

[illegible] E-1 (1922-1924)1968
NEA Bella Coola NEA

dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow-villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December the former owner became crippled with a disease which so weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tlâqmâ·ks*, such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[a]

According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *ÁáAnê'*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[b] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[a] See vol. I, p. 607 for further results of this treatment.
[b] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

[illegible]

Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see them accurately left *Snuz* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kimsdi'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he walked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *hakusl'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian.

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold person lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health.

Another man, while fishing for one of the cutworms, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the connection had been intended by some supernatural power.

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *sisiutl*, and as it

[778] crushed past him it bruised his legs. From its malign touch they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could [755] hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the [787] healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[115] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Iwanuk*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels eastwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Iwanuk* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nuddlé ete*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Iojo-xum*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Anadzoxum*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open flood where he is picked up by a waiting canoe.

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish almost seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is fastened through the entrance from the flood, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance.

The method of curing at the spot, *Alkumas*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 9) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository.

At *capulum* the virulent skin disease *Mokuly* can be cured.* This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *capulum*.

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

*In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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It is believed that if a non-
[575] [774] [755] initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what [784] [626] has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck. [626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784] [626] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts [778] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon [784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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575 796 781 [787] the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kuḵusiut* are eager to [766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member [761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kuḵusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

575 778 787 424 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut* to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the performance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuxkšiutsta* (also called *nuxa'ifsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ane'lkwulsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its [776] repository and in each of these is *Ane'lkwulsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ano'likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[1] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ano'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ano'likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer.

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ano'likwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuyaxem*, an

[1] [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
(Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

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untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwelsaix* has a husband, *Almoqtaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwelsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *ḵuśiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *ḵuśiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, emâtut.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *ḵuḵusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ans°lîkwelsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *ḵuḵusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

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this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

(b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunuljimum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntám* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ano'hkwolsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals.

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lsux*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* ··, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *kukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *kukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *kukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[1] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously, as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *kukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

[1] This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *si-ḥsia*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

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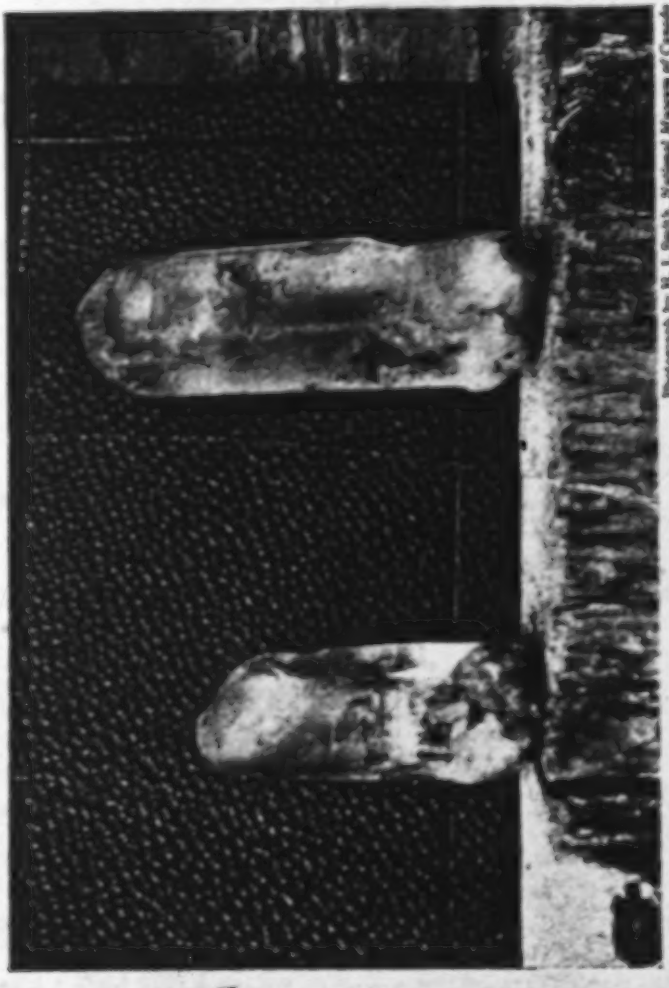
*575
*796
778

PLATE 4



Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Crystals used in initiation ceremonies

[p. 84 (D)]

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*575
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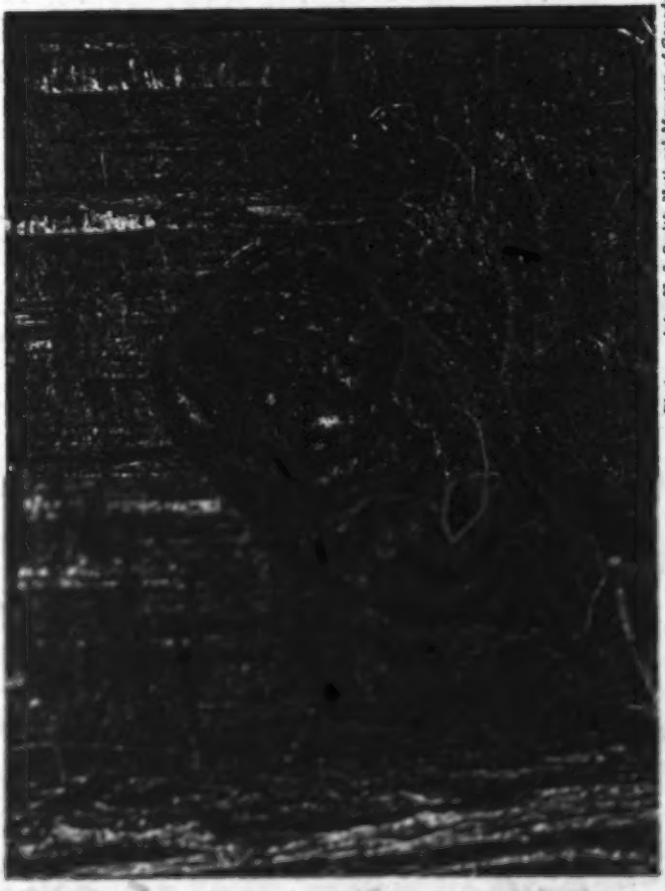
137

PLATE 6



Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Repository of a dog-eating cannibal

[p. 84 (F)]

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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *sqiols*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiols*, many Bella Coola with incubus.

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olxän·i*, of *Sunxt*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxän·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxän·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sunxt* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

[1] [see category 116, p. 84 (F) – ANALYST]

[the Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snuŋq's patron is a *snuŋq* of the Mountain which became petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolliaolmx*, though it is said to resemble the one just described in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repository of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present *Qolliaolmx* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

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* 575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of super-
* 796 natural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away with-
424 out being observed and *Hai·ɬakila* told *Ɬɛ̄lɛmas* to say nothing about
539 what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·ɬakila* and *Ɬɛ̄lɛmas* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Ɬɛ̄lɛmas*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·ɬakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sp̄ɛ̄mtik*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·ɬakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·ɬakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

* 575 Mention might here be made of a *Stuix* repository, said to
● 778 be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names.
551 It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Ɬɛ̄tlia, the head of the creature; *Ănuximān·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximāɬl*, the right hand; *Ălximān·a*, the left foot; *Xuximān·a*, the right foot; *Ălquntām*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mātsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

* 575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain
* 796 the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances;
424 they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account
539 for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alqunstăm* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Onixwaltcua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.[a] The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Onixwaltcua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulsłkăkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

[a] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

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beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i*....., while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals.

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snunkka'ks*. The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited it from his mother's brother. The first *Snunkka'ks* came to earth in the beginning of time at *Stuxw* and made his repository

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[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunuskentsmm*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Anukpamaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sxaistwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Kpapstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Ostpax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Älquntäm* placed the name *Nunuskumai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuix*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskumai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

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[The Dance of Winwina].

424 773 776 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After Raven had seen *Noăkxnim* and obtained him for *Ălilămnă-losaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omgomkilika*.

* 575 * 796 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

● [778] [424] [184] This dance occurs also at Kimsquis where the repository is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

Winwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[97] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X [292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [97] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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[The Moon Dance]

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No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on either *nusintälsap* or *qothm*. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for each *Snitsmän·a*, and one for *Ano°likwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän·a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano°likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano°likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän·a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Alimotsaia*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *nusel*

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names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *ẖuxiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Alixmatuxsix* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Tsaxaḥ*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Alixmatuxsix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *ẖalulx*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *H̱aẖẖlulxlaix*. The *ẖaẖuxiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Alixmatuxsix* chose the name *Xpalxus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Xpalxus* as X.

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *H̱aẖlulxlaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Sinx*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *H̱aẖlulxlaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).[1] She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *ẖaẖuxiut*

[1] [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

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[The Dance of the Otter]

*575 *796 below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on *nəbusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

[55] As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nəbusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE OCTOPUS DANCE

In the beginning of time *Sinaxɬ* of Kimsquit married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*

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dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by *Łulqwan-i*, a relative of *Sinuyut*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself where the *kusiut* society is believed to lack both localized power and ancestral authority.[11] The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; as far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *nsaok* and *kusiut* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are requested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kukusiut* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. Fom a distance nonmembers can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kukusiut* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the droning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other *kukusiut*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, stops, and all the *kukusiut* call out *i*····. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by palming the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

[11] This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

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[The Octopus Dance]

*575 *796 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qothm*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. [532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

[431] [556] The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 *796 424 [776] [778] One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwastlustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[160] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance, X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[776] [787] *575 *796

[160] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

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source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither *qothm* nor *nebusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *Isuxtämem*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *nebusam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *twihmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

Yuyuhmzl, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yuyuhmzl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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[The Dance of the Stone Man]

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water. [778]

The preliminaries of *Kwasta*'s dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. [532] When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *nəbusam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. [763] The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *kusiut* named *Wai·s*, "Cohoe Salmon." [424] Its origin is attributed to the experience of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. [551] Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *kusiotem* rites. When *Wai·s* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wai·s* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wai·s* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ălłibaläxlaix*.

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mɔ̈ntlato·snɔ̈m*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Ts̈äł*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Ts̈äł*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nebusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

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[The Dance of Dawn]

what they do. With them comes the being *Onstcitoma*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nusixilcixaikum, also called *Tutwai·os*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nunudjixnum*, who is patron for several *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ano°lik-wolsaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Älquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqulxwaista*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S HERALD

Oqolikts Älquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

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you choose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will retaliate on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman."

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their repository would be the blue pool on the shores of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that its name was *Nuqwxulioqlsän·i*. Having given his instructions, the strange visitor vanished.

The six orphans returned in a somewhat bewildered condition to *Stuix*. They went into the house where they were staying and *ɑxwal·a*, who was about eight years old, disturbed a cross old woman with his harmless play. In unreasonable anger she spanked him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman; by so doing she attracted to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. *Qwaixosän·i* stuck the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and threw it on the heap of excrement piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sanitary use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys next told their sister to slay the principal chief, who had instructed a sorcerer to kill their parents. *Qwaixosän·i* went behind him and attracted his spirit to herself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly sent *ɑxwal·a* to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days *Qwaixosän·i* captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of *Stuix* that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the malady, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left shelterless.

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424 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nunulcuxgnam* had almost vanished
*575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Änoºlikwolsaix*.
*796 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
539 The woman did so, and *Änoºlikwolsaix* continued:
"I am *Änoºlikwolsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nunulcuxgnam* as patron."
The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nunulcuxgnam* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xmaxots*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nusqalst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailaix*. *Älquntäm* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar
[778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Sxelxädjutän·a*, *Sxa·ltutsmän·a*, *Siutan·i*, and *Samsiutän·i*. When she
[532] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailaix*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

424 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which
*575 he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has,
*796 in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *yeaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes
[787] automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Älquntäm* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiotem* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

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CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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Ănudakănuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănukăldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ănukoo-lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Ănukululslaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
ănukihlk'ɪs: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Ănukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
ănukitnk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kănăn·ĭ* dance.
Ănukkălnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ănukpamaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
ănulkɛtl: Nose-ring. [301]
ănulnănk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ănulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Ănumntskmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ănunitsektmm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitcăplilăn·a.*
ănunuqun: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
anuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
anuospɛam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Ănuputsdilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
ănuqpatlnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Ănuqpmlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sătlis.*
Ănuqplălaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
ănuqunusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Ănuqwuntnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Ănusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *ɔsiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *ɔsiutl.*
Ănusaiksaixsăix·ălɛ: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Ănu·shuxălmm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănunkă'ălxăkmɛ: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *ɔsaok* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ănuskiekmm, "The Saviour": One of *Tlitcăplilăn·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuskumuthm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·ĭo* in the beginning of time.
ănuskxămnuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Ănuspunm·aix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Ănuty: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
ănuspaixɛtsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *ɔxlaxink*, q.v. [198]
Ănuxyalaix: One of the first women to settle at *Slskiut* in the beginning of time.
Ănxterklămdimuh: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ănxtux: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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Nukąpunkam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukāłco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nuqaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukolomskĭ': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuxˑ* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[778] *nukilaˑxta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukiis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nuliqwmutl diˑmnkˑ,* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulālsumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noāqˑmm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nuleˑxm:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nuliliqolānk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixwemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tālˑio* in the beginning of time.

nulmkmānkdās: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmākdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmkmānkdās.*

[428] *nulmāxtmaˑx:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulolostunikˑosta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *ʂisaok* head-dress.

nulq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalaitlt* or *ʂisiutl.*

Nulqānlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqwtāas: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulsnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] [556] *nulsmānmtnm,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

nulxodjim: Cry uttered by a *ʂisaok* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *ʂisaok* novices.

[342] *nulxisqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *ʂisaok* novice.

nulxwalkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numālkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numāmˑis, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ɬpamdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431] [195]

ɬpanliktmm: To revolve sunwise.

Ɬpanpanliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcaplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ɬpaɬaixs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ɬxwan: Village on the Skeena River.

ɬtaiseɬ: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

qubeɬ: Salmon liver.

ɬuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

quluas, vocative, quluais: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

qulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

quma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Qungwmm ul di dā Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ɬupstāxm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ɬuputsāleɬs: Stone axe. [412]

ɬus: Period of engagement.

Qwahila: Ɬomɢo·ts man.

Qwai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Qwaiutsamlaix: Stuux man mentioned in an ancient story.

Qwaixosān·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuux* woman.

Qwaixwos, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

qwalɬs: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ɬwalm, vocative, ɬwalām; plural, dɬɬwalām: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Qwa'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

qwalilk: Gull. [825]

ɬwal'ma'kɬs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ɬwalxwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

Qwalna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Ɬwamaxa'ɬs: Chief living on the upper *Tcawat* in the beginning of time.

qwant·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ɬwapx: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ɬwaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ɬwaqwasila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.

ɬwatlnekum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial.* [211]

ɬwatlnusam: Figure representing crest.

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Sinuɣɛil: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximaɬ: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuɣx* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus.

sipalɣalosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Slqālṣam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.

Siqalusnam: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder.

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances.

siqwsɛk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother.

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places.

Sitkmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuɣ': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *ssaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale.
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnālos: Wordless chorus.

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldāmx* chief living in the last century.

sixliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person.
2—Individual making such a journey.

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsan·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsiuɬutnam: Synonym for *Mɛlakila,* the supernatural being connected with *ssaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskx,* for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoɬāxkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage.

sixwoit: Unmarried mother.

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieutla* may be connected with this.

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[765] *skwanāt:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanat·an·ā,* "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanātānkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitsmān·a* during *kusiotem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo·ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla·kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

sleos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slāqq'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slāxkt: Many, *adjective.*

[554] *slāxmidjut,* "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[578] *slemts, vocative, slemtsakeis:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

slexwxwix: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

slī·s: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nsaok* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mitlakila.*

sluk': Olachen grease.

[778] *Sluxlekwailx:* 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slūlm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

[824] *slkumsta:* The voice.

slkuml: Dried elderberries.

[821] *slukwala:* 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

slulxm: Eclipse.

[424] *slwosamlikw':* 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nsaok* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaiaiklla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialotla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien·a: 1—Synonym for *Sluxlekwailx,* q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smāmālstunelp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaourk: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smāt·amy, vocative, smāt·āmy: Friends.

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smā·ił: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smāił ās skwaɬsta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

sm·ks: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

smɬxmɬxwɬs: One of the thrushes.

smuqāmāɬs: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Snākelt: Āsān·ān·i man mentioned in an ancient story.

snānik': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

snāx: Slave.

Snaxhākila: One of the first men to settle at *Sātlis* in the beginning of time.

snāxom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

sniāndcuqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Sninxlikwan·a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Sninis: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Snitsmān·a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Snmkst'ks: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time.

snmq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

snmqos di sonx"'dai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

snmqos wa xmdās: Variety of *snmq* living above tree line.

Snṭqwalmkaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sno·ākādāx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'elxdis Ālquntām: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'oniqwlx, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snoqolqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

snu'aiyewa: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Ṭlitcplilān·a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

snudaxt'eɬ: Unidentified berry. [824]

snukāłmāls: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snukilmāls: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snukimax: Part of house behind fire.

snukllaik: Unidentified plant. [824]

snulikumł: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snulexwnimutik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Noāxnm.*

snulnuxlił: Twin.

Snulqulqāls: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Ḷemoqwa's* house.

Snunua·lma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Snuqā·ɣ': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snuqwaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snuqwaxwāls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
snusaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks*.
Snuxlkāls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsimotl* man.
Snuxmkāls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālaxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
Snuxmikānk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālaxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] ***Snuxkuts,*** Cold: A supernatural being.
Snuxlaxwai, "The Mystery of *Alquntām*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snuxɣ: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snuxɣindjān·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snuxari: Pronunciation of *Snuxəli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snuxəli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] ***snutdānkin,*** "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snuikānāls, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Q̓omoqwa*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tāl·io* man derived from the last.
Snuitl·tl, "Place of Nɑ Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snuthmx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Snutqomikaista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] ***snutsālātst:*** Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snutsiaxwanem: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] ***Snutsulktāls:*** Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snuwals: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snuɣexldāmut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snuɣex·isk: One who seeks embers.
Snuxmothmān·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
Snuxwnulāls: Name of first settlers at *Alqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
Snuyaxlikwan·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] ***solits:*** Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sol'ohm: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
sonx^{w}: see dā sonx^{w} dā.
Sonxwaāks: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuitlax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonxwan·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nuitlax* in the beginning of time.
[431] ***sonxwadjut:*** Synonym for *sɣwomaɬs*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonχʷmai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Soptos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tcimotl* man.
soɬoleaxwm: Scalp.
soqwalākt': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxgmmān·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spānbatlnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spānieta: Temporary camping-place.
Spātcalɬt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spāiki: Star.
spekum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipiqinān·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smnq* with female organs. [824]
spoxālicua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Lemqo·ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spta: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputs: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhailaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusɬalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxqʷmpdimut: *Sisaok* name of *Xuxais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqāl·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqaolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqāpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sɬalst or *sɬalstutl:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusɬalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]*
squma: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Squml: Land of Ashes. [584]
sɬasusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sɬals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatsuk: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sɬonm: Flood.